

( 55 )

A True and Short  
**NARRATIVE**  
 Of the Horrid  
**MURDER**  
 Of the Reverend Father in God,  
**James, Archbishop**  
 O F  
**St. Andrews, &c.**

Here was a true Account of this Horrid Murder *Published by Authority* in June, or July last 1679. it was Printed at London for Andrew Forrester, next door to the Miter Tavern in Kings-street Westminster, and was drawn up by a learned Gentleman, one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council in Scotland, who concealed his name, as all men have reason to do, who write any thing that may offend, or provoke the *Bloody Sells*. He wrote it to correct a Scandalous and Lying Narrative, which according to the Reports that had been spread about London by the *\* Presbyterians* and other Sectaries there, related, That the Archbishop was Killed by ——— Hackston, whom his Grace had cast in a Suit at Law, and some of his oppressed Tenants, who Conspired together out of private Revenge, to take away his Life.

*\* In particular by Dr. J. and Dr. B.*

But because many notable Particulars relating to this Murder are come to light since the *True Account* of it was Printed; I hope I shall do Service both to the Publick, and the Memory of that great Man, in giving a more full, and exact Narrative of the Assassination of his *Sacred Person*, which, excepting the Solemn *Paricide* committed on the most Sacred Person of our late most *Gracious Sovereign*, will perhaps appear to be as Barbarous a Murder, as ever was committed upon a meer Man.

My Narrative will consist of three Parts; whereof the first shall be a plain Relation of the *Matter of Fact*, without any Rhetorical Exaggerations, which serve for nothing but to render the Historian suspected, and misbecome the simplicity of the Historical Stile. Secondly, I will shew out of the, *Presbyterian* Writers, the *Bloody Principles* upon which this Murder was committed: and in the Conclusion I shall shew by what

what steps, and degrees of Cruelty and Sedition they arrived at such a desperate undertaking as this Murder was, and the Rebellion which immediately followed thereupon.

I shall begin the first part with telling the Reader, That the Archbishop had been attending his Majesties Service in the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*; from whence he went over into *Fife* in the Afternoon, on the Second of May 1679. That Night he Lodged at Captain *Seaton's* House in a Village called *Kennoway*, which is in the midway betwixt *Bruntisland* and *St. Andrews*. About Midnight, as the People of the Town report, two Men well Mounted and Armed, came thither to enquire if the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was Lodged at Captain *Seaton's*; and as soon as they were informed that he was, they presently Rode out of the Town again. The next morning being the Third of May, several Parties of Horsemen were seen to traverse the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and *St. Andrews*, who doubtless were the Assassins, who watched for an opportunity to effect the Murder, which they had long designed. But the Lord Primate, who was a Man of great Natural Courage, and whom so many Deliverances, for almost Twenty Years, from the hands of those Bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire Confidence in Gods Protection, took Coach about Nine of the Clock, without any preface or apprehension of Danger. He had none but his Elder Daughter to Ride with him in the Coach, and only three Servants on Horseback to attend him; one of whom he had sent before he was Assaulted, to pay his Respects to a Person of Honour, by whose House he passed on his Road. He advanced in his Journey in great security, till he came to a little Countrey-Village called *Mogu*, two Miles distant from *St. Andrews*, betwixt an Eleven and Twelve of the Clock in the Forenoon. There he first perceived himself to be pursued by an Eleven or Twelve Men barefaced, well Mounted, with Pistols Cocked in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms. As soon as he spied them, he bid his Coachman make as fast, as his Horses could Gallop, but alas too late! for the Assassins immediately pursued him, and in their Pursuit Shot at him several times in the Coach, running as fast as Six good Horses could draw it. The Coachman (who discovered the Villains before his Lord, and had thereupon begged leave of him, but was not permitted to Gallop away) had certainly outdriven them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinlock*, Mounted on a very fleet Bay Horse, had not overtaken them; who not daring to Attack the Coachman, because his Whip did fright his spritely Horse, rode up to the Postilion, whom he wounded with his Sword in the Face, Shot one of the foremost Coach-Horses, Ham-stringed the other, and so stopped the Coach. By that time this was done, the rest of the Murderers came up, and one of them Fired a Pistol, or a Blunderbuss so near his Breast, that his Daughter rubbed off the burning which stuck to his Gown. Then they called to him by the name of Dog, Villain, Apostat, Persecuter of the Godly, Betrayer of Jesus Christ and his Church, and bid him come out of the Coach to receive what he deserved for his wickedness against the Kirk of Scotland. Upon this his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, begging her Fathers Life; but they regarding neither her Prayers nor Tears, threw her down several times upon the ground, trampled upon her, and wounded her; which her tender-hearted Father seeing, after much reproachful language and many threatnings, came meekly out of the Coach, and with

with calmness said unto them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I ever injured any of you, or if I did, I am ready to make you reparation; and therefore I beseech you to spare my life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this Violence, and I pray you consider before you bring the guilt of Innocent Blood upon your selves.* The reverence of his Presence, and his undaunted courage in addressing himself so resolutely, and gravely unto them, surprised them, and made them stand a little while, as it were unresolved what to do; and one of them relenting, cryed to the rest, *Spare these Grey Hairs:* but their cruel Zeal overcoming their natural Pity and Justice, paused not long before they replied, *He must dye, he must dye;* and then again calling him *Traiterous Villain, Judas, Betrayer of the Interest of Christ, Enemy to God and his People,* said unto him, *Thou shalt now receive the reward of thy Apostacy, and Enmity to the People of God.* Then seeing them determined to take away his Life, he begged a little while to Pray, telling them, *He would pray for them;* but they scornfully told him, *That they cared not for his Prayers, being sure that God would not hear so base a dog, as he was.* Then looking stedfastly upon one of the Assassins, whom he seemed to know, he kneeled down before him, and said unto him, *Sir, Thou art a Gentleman, and I must beg my last favour from you, That since you are resolved that I must dye, you would have pity upon my poor Child here, and spare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your hand.* And thereupon stretching his hand towards the cruel man, he had for a return a very great blow with a Shable, which almost quite cut off his hand, and the Villain redoubling his Stroak, gave him another violent Wound upon the left Eye, which cut him two Inches above it, and one below. This Stroak knocked him down, but getting upon his knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done your Work,* and holding up his hands (as well as he could) to Heaven, he fervently cryed out, *Lord Jesus! have mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this posture of Devotion, they wounded him in his hands, which he held up to Heaven, and in other parts of his Body, till in a kind of composure he laid down his head upon his arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were the last words which he uttered, like an excellent Christian; after which they gave him no less than sixteen Wounds on his Head, insomuch that it seemed to be all one Wound: and pieces of his shattered Skull, and Brains were some days after found on the ground, that unhallowed *Golgotha*, where he was Slain. Having thus hacked, and cleft his Head, some of them as they were going away thought they heard him groan, which made them go back, and to make sure work, stir about his Brains in the Skull with the points of their Swords. Having finished their long desired Murder, they made his Servants solemnly Swear not to discover them, and then bad them in derision *take up their Priest;* and having said so, Rode back to *Magus*, where they first assaulted the Coach, and one of them, by name *John Balfour of Kinlock*, as he passed by that Town, was heard to say very audibly, and distinctly, *That now Judas was killed.*

What I have here written concerning the manner of this execrable Murder of the *Primate*, his devout behaviour towards God, and his meek carriage towards his Murderers, and the several mild Expressions in which he addressed himself unto them, and the most rude unchristian language in which they replied, is taken from the Information of the young Lady, who



who Rode with him in the Coach, and the Depositions of his Graces Servants, whose Examinations were taken upon Oath before the Privy-Council, in whose Registers they may be seen. And as for the savage manner in which they did wound him, I shall here set down, for the proof thereof, the Certificate of a Doctor of Physick, and three Chirurgeons, who by order from the Privy-Council did view, and embalm his Body.

**W**E underscribers being called to visit the Corps of the late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, do find, That he had received a Wound by a Sword over the left Eye, extending two Inches above, and one below, making a great Suffusion of Blood upon the Cheek, and upper and lower Eye-lid. Next we found many Wounds upon the Posterior part of his Head, insomuch that the whole Occipital bone was shattered all in pieces, and a part of the Brain lost thereby upon the place, which certainly being so great, could not but occasion his present Death. There were only two Wounds to be seen upon the Body, the first two or three Inches below the right Clawicle, betwixt the second and third Rib, which was given by a Shot not reaching the capacity of the Breast. The next was a small Wound upon the Region of the Kidneys, given by a small Sword. Likewise we found three Wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved mortal, though he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand as dangerous as the former: as Witnesses our Hands, at St. Andrews the Fifth day of May 1679.

Sic Subscribitur.

George Petullo M. D.  
William Borthwick Chir.  
Henry Spense Chir.  
Ja. Pringle Chir.

I desire the Reader here to observe, That the *Archbishops* Body was pierced by a Shot, betwixt the second and third Rib, which the Author of the *False Narrative* did industriously deny; and for the truth of his Assertion, impudently appealed to *William Borthwick*, one of the three Chirurgeons, who subscribed the Certificate above written. The reason why that malicious man had a mind to make the world believe, That the Bullets did not pierce the *Archbishops* Body, was to insinuate to the People, that he was *Shot-free*, and by consequence had that priviledge from the Devil, or at least had recourse for his security against Bullets, to Magical Talismans, and Charms.

The Privy-Council had no sooner received the news of this horrid Murder, but they proceeded with all imaginable care and diligence to discover the Murderers; for after the Examination of the *Archbishops* Servants upon Oath, they immediately issued out the following Proclamation, which for their honour I have here set down.



# A PROCLAMATION Ordered by His Majesties Privy-Council of Scotland, upon the Horrid Murder of JAMES late Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, and one of his Majesties Most Honourable Privy-Council of that Kingdom.

At Edinburgh, Sunday the Fourth of May, 1679.

**C**HARLES By the Grace of GOD, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Lyon King at Arms, and his Brethren Heraulds, Macers, or Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, Greeting: We being fully and by legal Proofs assured of the late Horrid and Bloody Murther committed upon Saturday last, being the Third Day of May instant, by Ten or Eleven Fanatick and Execrable Assassins, upon the Person of the most Reverend Father in GOD, JAMES late Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of all Scotland; which Barbarous and Inhumane Assassination will (we doubt not) spread Harour and Amazement in the Hearts of such as believe that there is a GOD, or a Christian Religion; A Cruelty exceeding the Barbarity of Iagans and Heathens, amongst whom the Officers and Ministers of Religion are reputed to be Sacred, and are by the respect born to a Deity whom they Adore, secured against all such Bloody and Execrable Attempts; A Cruelty exceeding the belief of all true Protestants, whose Churches have justly stigmatized with the Marks of Impiety all such as defile with Blood those Hands which they ought to hold up to Heaven; and a Cruelty equal to any with which we can reproach the Enemies of this True and Reformed Church! By which also not only the Principles of Humane Society, but our Authority and Government (the Archbishop of St. Andrews being one of Our Privy-Council) is highly violated, and Example and Incouragement given for Murthering all such as serve Us faithfully according to the Prescript of Our Laws and Royal Commands: Daily Instances whereof We are to expect whilst Field-Conventicles, those Rendezvouses of Rebellion, and Forgers of all Bloody and Jesuitical Principles, are so frequented and followed, to the scandal of all Government and the Contempt of Our Laws; and which Murther is, as far as is possible, rendered yet more detestable by the unmasked Boldness of such as durst openly with bare Faces in the midst of Our Kingdom, at Mid-day assemble themselves together, to Kill in Our High-Way the Primate of Our Kingdom, and one of Our Privy-Council, by so many Stroakes and Shots, as left his Body as it were but one Wound, and many of which being given after they knew he was Dead, were remarkable Proofs they were acted by a Spirit of Hellish and Insatiable Cruelty:

Have therefore, with Advice of Our Privy-Council, thought fit hereby to Command and Charge all Sheriffs, Stewards, Bayliffs of Regalities and Bayliaries, and their Deputies, Magistrates of Burghs, and Officers of

Our Standing Forces, to Search, Seek, Take, and Apprehend the Persons Guilty of the said Horrid Murder, or any suspected by them, until they be brought to Justice; and all Our good and faithful Subjects to concur in the Taking and Securing (as far as is in their power) these Assassins. And in respect there is a Company of vagrant and stulking Russians, who, to the great Contempt of all Government, do Ride through this Our Kingdom, Killing Our Soldiers, Deforcing such as put Our Laws in Execution, and Committing such Horrible Murders, who might be easily Discovered, if all such, amongst whom they converse, did, according to their Duty, endeavour to Apprehend them, or give Notice of their Residence: We have therefore thought fit, Conform to the 144 Act of Parliament 12, King James 6. to Command and Charge all Our Subjects, that whenever any unknown Men or Vagabonds happen to repair amongst them, That they with all possible Speed Certifie any of Our Privy-Council Officers of Our Forces, or any having Trust under Us, thereof; With Certification to them, That if they omit the same, they shall be punished with all Rigor, Conform to the said Act. And since several of the said Assassins are known to have been Tenants in the Shire of Fife, whose Names will be known to such of the Witnesses as were present; We hereby Require and Command all the Heritors and Masters of the said Shire of Fife and Kinross, to bring their Tenants, Cottars and Servants, living in the respective Presbyteries, upon the several days, and to the places following, viz. To St. Andrews, &c. There to be seen by the said Witnesses, and to continue there until they be Examined; With Certification to such of the said Tenants, Cottars and Servants as shall be absent, they shall be reputed as accessory to the said Crime; And the Masters, if they produce them not, or if hereafter they harbour any that shall not Compear, they shall be reputed as Favourers of the said Assassination. And whereas there are several Persons under Caption and Intercommuning in the said Shire for several Causes, and lest Persons, who are innocent, may be thereby debarred from appearing, We have thought fit hereby to fill and supersede all Execution upon any Letters of Caption or Intercommuning, or any other Warrant, for securing of Persons for the space of Forty eight hours, after the said Diets of appearance. And to the end the said cruel Murder may be the more easily discovered, We do hereby offer and give full assurance of Our Indemnity to any one of the said Assassins, who shall discover his Complices, and such as bounded them out, and present payment of the Sum of Ten Thousand Merks to any who shall inform who were the said Assassins, if upon his Information they, or any of them can be Apprehended, that they may be brought to condign Punishment. And We Ordain these Presents to be Printed and Published at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, and other Places needful.

Given under Our Signet at Edinburgh, the Fourth Day of May 1679.  
and of Our Reign the One and Thirtieth Year.

GOD save the KING.

But though this Proclamation Printed at *Edenburgh* by Authority, and Reprinted at *London*, was sufficient to convince the World of what Principles, and Sect the *Lord Primates* Murderers were, yet the Patrons, and Favourers of the *Scottish-Presbyterians* at *London*, had the Confidence to give this *Publick Act* the Lye, and say, (as indeed they dare take the Confidence to say any thing) That it was drawn up at *Whitehall* by the *Duke of Lauderdale*, and sent by him to the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, who will Publish any thing which he shall order, and in any Form which he shall prescribe.

After the issuing out of this Proclamation, the Privy-Council were very diligent in Examining the Inhabitants of *Magus*, and many others upon Oath, whose Depositions are extant in the Registers of the Privy-Council; and very many were Examined also in the *Sheriff-Court* of *Fife*, according to the tenore of this Proclamation, and their Examinations are kept in the Records of that Court: From whence it was made apparent, that the Bloody Assassins, and many others who were strongly presumed to have been Abettors, and Contrivers of the Murder, were notorious *Panaticks*, Frequenters of Field-Conventicles, and Followers of *Mr. Welsh* and other Traitors, Intercommuned, and Rebellious Preachers. Nine of the Actors in this Tragedy were discovered by their Names and Surnames, which, as it is fitting to set forth the horror of such a Murder, I shall here set down in Letters of Blood.

John Balfour of *Kintock*, David Hackston of *Rathillet*, George Balfour in *Giffon*, James Russel in *Wing-Kettle*, Robert Dingwall a Farmers Son in *Candany*, Andrew Guillan Weaver in *Balmerneth*, Alexander Henderson and Andrew Henderson, Sons to John Henderson in *Kilbrachmont*, George Fleming, Son to George Fleming in *Balbruthy*.

The Names of  
the Murderers.

The Depositions of the Witnesses, who upon Oath proved these Persons to have been Actors in the Archbishops Murder, ly upon Record as above-said, are as followeth, who perhaps may doubt of the truth of what is here said; more particularly it was deposed by one James Anderson Farmer, at a Farm called *Tenchers*, That George Balfour above-mentioned, came after the Murder to his Brothers House at *Giffon*, and told him it was done, and that the rest (of the Murderers) waited for him on *Tates-Moor*, and that he having returned to them, they went all Nine, and possessed themselves of the *Bass* at *Tenchers* about Three in the Afternoon, from whence they parted about Seven, when all of them spoke with the said James Anderson, who knew them all particularly, and named them, as they are above-mentioned.

Thus far the Discovery was made, when the late Rebellion broke out on the Twenty ninth of May, which forced the Privy-Council to desist from their vigorous pursuit of the Murderers, and apply themselves to the Suppression of that Insurrection; which carried with it the fate of the three Kingdoms, and would have certainly very much shaken the Government, if the Rebels had got the first Victory, or could but have maintained their ground. But they were no sooner Beaten, and the Kingdom Resettled, but the Privy-Council resumed their care in pursuing the Discovered Murderers of the *Lord Primate*, (who also had all taken Arms in the Rebellion) and issued out this following Proclamation the Twentieth of September following, for the Apprehension of them.

A PRO-



## A PROCLAMATION Anent the Murderers of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, and appointing Magistrates and Councils of Burghs Royal to Sign the Declaration at Michaelmas next.

**C**HARLES, by the Grace of GOD King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; To Our Lovits  
Heraulds, Macers, Purjevants, or Messengers at Arms, Our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, Greeting: We taking to Our Consideration how much the Protestant Religion, and the Honour of this Our Ancient Kingdom are stained by that Barbarous and Horrid Assassination and Murder of the late Archbishop of St. Andrews; whereof We have by several Proclamations expressed Our Abhorrency, and prohibited the reset of these Murderers whom We have excepted from Our late Gracious Pardon and Indemnity: And albeit it was the Duty (not only of those in Authority under Us) but of all Our Subjects, to use their endeavours for discovering and bringing to Justice these execrable Persons, Enemies to all Humane Society; yet We understand, that these Murderers, and likewise divers Heritors and Ministers who were engaged in the late Rebellion, and are excepted from Our Indemnity, have been harboured and reset in some places of this Kingdom, to the great Reproach of the Nation, and Contempt of Our Authority and Laws: Therefore, We with advice of Our Privy-Council, do Command and Charge all Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bayliffs of Regalities, and Baylieries, and their Deputies, Magistrates of Burghs, and others in Authority under Us, to Search for, Seek, Take, and Apprehend the Persons afternamed, viz. John Balfour of Kinbuck, David Haxstoun of Rathiller, George Balfour in Gilstoun, James Russel in Kettle, Robert Dingwall, a Tenants Son in Caddam, Andrew Gillan Webster in Balmerinloch, Alexander and Andrew Hendersons, Sons to John Henderson in Kilbrachmont, and George Fleming Son to George Fleming in Balburthy, who did perpetrate and commit the said horrid Murders, and also, any Heritors and Ministers who were in the late Rebellion, and any Persons who have Reset and Harboured these Murderers and Rebels, wherever they can be found within the Bounds of their respective Jurisdictions, and put them in sure Ward and Firmance, until they be brought to Justice: And in case these Persons flee out of the Shire; That they give notice thereof to the Sheriff, or other Magistrate of the next Shire or Jurisdiction, that they may in like manner Search for, Apprehend and Secure them until they be brought to Justice; With Power to the Sheriffs, and other Magistrates aforesaid, if they shall find cause, to call on their Assistance Our Subjects within their Jurisdiction, or such a number of them as they shall think fit, who are hereby Required to Contour with, and Assist them, under all highest Pain and Charge. And We expect, That the Sheriffs and other Magistrates aforesaid, will use exact diligence in the Premises, as they will be answerable on their highest Peril. And seeing by the Fifth Act of the second Session, and the second Act of the third Session of Our first Parliament, The Magistrates and Councils of Burghs are Ordained

at

at and before their Admissions to the exercise of their Offices, to Sign the Declaration appointed to be Signed by all Persons in Publick Trust, under the Certifications therein exprest. Therefore, We with Advice aforesaid, do Command and Require the Magistrates and Councils of the respective Burghs of this Kingdom, who shall be chosen at the next ensuing Elections, to Sign the foresaid Declaration, as is prescribed in the said Acts, and to return the Declarations so Signed by them to the Clerks of Our Privy-Council, betwixt and the third Thursday of November next; certifying such as shall not give Obedience, that they shall be proceeded against, and censured conform to the said Acts of Parliament. Our Will is Herefore, and We Charge you strictly, and Command, that incontinent, these Our Letters seen, ye pass to the Market-Cross of Edinburgh, and remanent Market-Crosses of the Head Burghs of the several Shires of this Kingdom, and other places needful, and there by open Proclamation, make publication of the Premises, that none may pretend ignorance of the same. And We Ordain these presents to be Printed.

Given under Our Signet at Edinburgh the Twentieth Day of September, 1679. And of Our Rign the Thirty one Year.

*Will. Paterson, Cl. Sti. Concilii.*

## G O D save the K I N G.

But by this time the Murderers, and Rebels had fled the Kingdom, notwithstanding all imaginable care and diligence to prevent their Escape; and while the *Covenanting-Army*, as the Rebels styled themselves, lay at *Glasgow*, one of the *Balfours*, as a very creditable Gentleman, who was then in the Town, told me, openly boasted of the Murder as a glorious Fact, and said, holding up his Arm, *This hand helped to kill the Fox*. And it hath been already Published to the World, That five of their Accomplices, Complotters, and Abettors of the Murder, chose to Dye, and be hung up in Chains upon the place, rather than confess the sinfulness of the Action, by acknowledging it was Murder, or a Sin. The Fanatical Party foretold it in several places; and the Morning before it was committed, one of the Assassins, like a Jesuit Consecrated to an Heroical Act, after a solemn Sacrilegious Form of Devotion, held up his hand, and Swore, *That that hand should kill the Arch-Prelate*, upon which the holy Sister, his Hostess, kissed him; and it is notoriously known in Scotland, that he, who commanded the Foot for Mr. *Welsh* upon *Reupar-Law*, (that famous Field-Conventicle) owned that their Friends thanked God for the Archbishops Death, which neither they, nor their Abettors in either Kingdom will call Murder, when they have occasion to speak thereof.

Having absolved my first part, I proceed to shew out of the *Presbyterian* Writings, the Principles, upon which they ground this bloody Practice of Assassination; in performing of which, I must go up as high as the Murder of Cardinal *Beton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who was Assass-

\* The first  
Martyr of Scot-  
land.

fin'd by private Gentlemen, as the late Lord Primate was, only with this difference, that the Cardinal was Murdered in his own Palace, the Castle of *St. Andrews*, and the Primate in the open Field. The names of his Murderers were *Norman Lesly*, *John Lesly*, *Peter Carmichael*, and *James Melvil*, who with Sixteen or Seventeen more seized the Castle, and when they had entered the Cardinals Chamber, *Lesly* and *Carmichael* fell violently upon him, but *James Melvil* with-held them, and said, *This Work and Judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with great gravity.* And upon these words, presenting unto him the point of his Sword, said, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable Instrument of God,\** Mr. *James Wiseheart*, which albeit the flame of Fire consumed before men, yet cries in Vengeance against thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it: for here before my God I protest, That neither the hatred of thy Person, nor love of thy Riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldest have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to Strike thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest an obstinate Enemy against Christ Jesus, and his holy Gospel. And the meek Man of God (as *Knox* calls him) having so spoken, Struck the Cardinal twice or thrice with a Stog-Sword, although he cried out pitifully for mercy, saying, *I am a Priest, you will not Slay a Priest*; and though he exhorted him to Repentance, yet he allowed him no more time for it than was spent in his Grave and Godly Harangue. I have taken this Relation out of *Knoxes* History, to which I refer the Reader, Pages 143, 144, 145. or to the 28th. page of *Presbytery Displayed*, where it is also related in this manner: And from the whole it is apparent, that *Melvil* committed this Murder, Gravely, Deliberately, and in Cold Blood, declaring, That he was sent from God to do it, not for any private end, but to revenge the blood of Mr. *Wiseheart*, and because he was an Enemy to Jesus Christ and his Gospel. *Knox* commends this direful Action of Mr. *James Melvil*, for a Godly Fact; and so the bloody Field-*Presbyterians* have applauded the Nine Murderers of the late Lord Primate, and will doubtless Canonize them, as they did *Mitchel*, who attempted to Assassinate him Eleven Years before.

\* Tyranny and  
Popery, pa. 27.

And \* *Goodman*, *Knoxes* his Companion, whom I cited before, page 30. saith, *That all men are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to suppress and resist Idolatry by force: Nor is it sufficient for Subjects, not to obey the wicked Commands of Printes, but they must resist them, and deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is in danger to be devoured by a Wolf. And if the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-mongers and False Preachers (and now all Bishops and Church-Ministers in their esteem are such) to Death, the People in seeing it performed, shew that Zeal of God which was commended in Phineas.*

*Gilby* Sings to the same Tune, and saith, *That Kings, Princes, and Governors have their Authority from the People, and upon occasion the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies and Letters of Attorney. It is lawful (says he) to kill wicked Kings and Tyrants. The Subjects did kill the Queens Highness Athalia, Jehu killed the Queens Majesty Jesabel: Elias being no Magistrate, killed the Queens Majesties Chaplains, Baals Priests.*

John



*John Knox* in his debate with *Lithington*, *Hist. of Reformation*, pag. 390. Justifies the killing of Tyrannical Princes, and men in publick places by private persons, from the example of *Phineas*, whom he asserts to have been a private person, and tells us; *He had not only a large Reward for his fact*, Numb. 25. 12, 13. *but an ample approbation for it*, Psal. 106. 31. *So that it was accounted to him for Righteousness*, i. e. as a *Righteous action*; and affirms, *That it is to be imitated by all those, who prefer the true Honour of the true Worship and Glory of God, to the affection of fleshly and wicked Princes*; nay he says, *That his example approved by God, stands to us instead of a Commandment*; for as God in his nature is constant and immutable, so can he not condemn in the ages subsequent, that which he hath approved in his servants before us.

*Naphtali* Justifies the Rebellion at *Pentland-hills* 1666. from the same example of *Phineas*, and Blasphemously ascribes it to the holy Spirit of God, asserting that the Rebels were no more to be condemned as Traytors, than *Phineas* ought to have been for a Murderer, seeing they were led by the same Spirit, and had as good warrant as he. See pag. 21. 22, 23, 24, &c. This Doctrine, and both *John Knox*, and the Author of *Naphtali* the maintainers of it, are industriously defended, and vindicated by the Author of *Jus populi vindicatum*. cap. 20. from pag. 409. to pag. 426. And upon this principle it was that Mr *Mitchel* acted, when he attempted to Assassinate the Lord Primate. An. 1668. *Ravillac Redivivus*. pag. 18. 19. And though he failed in his Attempt, as the Rebels before him had done in theirs, (which never any person or persons did, or could do, that were moved by God to do an *Heroical Act*;) yet still he believed that the irresistible Diabolical impulse, which he felt in himself, came from God: exactly according to the Doctrine of the *Jesuites*, who in the *Apology for John Chastel* assert, that an *Act* is nevertheless *Heroical*, although the undertaker fail in the Attempt. The Title of the Book is, *Apologie pour Jehan Chastel Parisien & les Peres, & Escholiers de la société de Jesus, &c. contre l' Arrest de Parlement donné contre eux a Paris le 29 Decembre 1594. L'an 1595.* It consists of 5 parts, and the 11 ch. of the third, bears this Title, *L'acte ne laisse d' estre heroique, quoy que l'entreprise ne vienne à Chef.* *Jus populi vindicatum*, and *Naphtali* are the Pocket-books of the Field-Conventiclers, and the common people read the latter especially, as much as the Bible, or as much as the common people of the Church-Communion read formerly the *Practice of Piety*, or now *The whole Duty of man*. I know a *Scottish Gentleman* an Officer, who meeting with a single Country-Fellow going to a Conventicle, examined and searched him, and in one of his Pockets found *Naphtali*, and the other a *Pocket-Pistol* charged with two Bullets, the Doctrine, as the Gentleman ingeniously, said in one Pocket, and the Use in the other; and as I have been Credibly informed, that Cursed Book was found about most of those who were slain at *Bothwell-Bridge*.

Thus have we found out the damnable principle upon which the *Jesuited Presbyterians* found their practices of *Massacres*, and *Assassinations*. When the Magistrate will not put to death the enemies of Christ, his Gospel, his People, or of the Kirk, private persons may do it, by the example of *Phineas*, nay, they ought to do it, without hesitation when they feel themselves moved thereunto. But if the Magistrates themselves be such, then any other person not in Office may, and ought to rise up to do Justice upon them (the King not excepted)

after

after the example of *Phineas*, that the Wrath going out may be stayed, and the judgments of God averted from the Land. And notwithstanding this Doctrine (saith the Author of *Jus populi* pag. 412) *All persons have sufficient security of their lives, except such as are guilty of dreadfull Apostacy (with which they charge all that have renounced the Covenant, or that took it and do not keep it; in particular the King, and the late Lord Primate) causing the Plague of God to break out upon the Land, and pag. 414. To prevent all these fears, let his Majesty, and other Magistrates Reform their ways, and turn to the Lord, and execute judgment on him (the Bishop) and his accomplices, and all the rest who now pretend to honour the King, and to fear God; but in effect do Deifie a Creature, and renounce their homage to the King of Kings, and so provoke him to destroy both them, and their King by their Apostacy and wicked defection, and that openly before men, and Angels, as David hanged up the sons of Saul before the Sun, and then they need not fear either Dag, or Dagger, Pistol, or poisoned poinyard, a Spanisb-sig, or any such secret applications. Again pag. 415. he infers, That the fact of Phineas was a laudable act of Justice, and a precedent for Judges, and Magistrates in all times coming, and that by his example any member of the Counsel (for Phineas rose from among the Congregation) might lawfully rise up and execute judgment on this wicked wretch (the Archbishop) and his Cursed Fraternity, who have brought by their Apostacy and defection from the Covenant, and cause of God, the wrath, and curse of God upon the Land.*

Hence all the Kirk-Writers since his Majesties return, such as *Naphtali, Jus populi, The Apology, and Apologetical Narration, The Poor Mans Cup, The History of the Indulgence, &c.* call the Bishops *Apostates, Perjured Prelates, A perjured Fraternity, Traytors to Christ, Enemies to his people, Idolaters, Backsliders, &c.* So that whosoever shall like *Phineas* rise up and do Justice upon them, shall do a laudable act, such as shall be accounted unto them for Righteousness, and have the approbation of God. Hence *Mitchel* in his answer to the *Dean of Edingburgh*, saith confidently, that he refers the Manifestation of his Fact to the day of Gods Righteous judgment, *Rav. Red. pag. 18.* and in his shorter Speech pag. 19. he declared, *That he laid down his life willingly in opposition to the perfidious Prelates, and in testimony of the Cause of Christ.* And in his larger Speech, wherein he declares, that the King and Estates, and every single man is bound to endeavour to extirpate the perjured Prelates, and abjured Prelacy by force of arms; and threatens them all, *with the furbished Sword of the Lords indignation for not executing vengeance upon them; he saith most Blasphemously, That blessed are all they who take the proud Prelates and dash their brains against the stones.*

But it is not the Bishops only, whom they think it laudable to Murder singly, or Massacre in Companies, if they could, but all that own their Authority, as the Church-Ministers, and all that any ways Protect and Support the Church and Clergy; from the King himself upon the Throne, to the meanest Officer Civil or Military, who faithfully executes his Laws and Commands. And yet as bloody as you see these Field-Sectaries are by their Principles, some Discontented Persons of great Quality, whom out of respect I shall not name, had so little Conscience, and sence of Honour, and so much Confidence, as to report, That they were a *Poor, Innocent, and Peaceable sort of People, who only desired to serve*

God

God according to their own Consciences, and were neither able, nor inclined to commit such Outrages, and make such Disturbances at their Conventicles, as was here reported they did. And therefore, for a further illustration of their bloody Principles and Practises, I proceed in the last place to shew by what Steps and Gradations of Sedition and Cruelty they arrived at length to Murder the Archbishop, and shortly after Rebel; for this damnable Doctrine of \* *Heroical impulse* hath poisoned the whole Sect, and instigated them to many other Inhumane Butcheries and lesser Rebellions, before they imbrued their hands in the Primates sacred Blood.

For shortly after, they began to Conventicle in such formidable numbers, and in such an Hostile manner in the Fields, upon the Duke of *Lauderdale* going down in June 1677. they openly threatened the Archbishops and other Bishops, and such of the Kings Ministers, as they thought were most vigorous in putting the Laws in Execution against them. This gave occasion to the Privy-Council to order the Tryal of Mr. *James Mitchel*, that the rest by his Punishment might be deterred from Practising upon others *Heroical Attempts*. As soon as his Tryal was ordered, the *Fanaticks* threatened more than before; and knowing that Sir *George Mackenzy* his Majesties Advocate, was bound by his Office to Prosecute him, they sent him nameless Letters, to tell him, That if he pursued Mr. *James Mitchel*, it should cost him his Life, which it undoubtedly will, if ever he fall into their hands.

While the Miscreants Tryal was depending, (for it lasted four days) there were Letters also sent to the Archbishop, (for attempting of whose Life he was tryed) threatening him, That if Mr. *James* were put to Death, it should certainly cost him his Life, which I believe might be one reason, why his Grace afterwards in Council endeavoured to procure his Reprieve.

A little after his Execution it was, That to prevent the Rising of the *Fanaticks* in the West, the *Highlanders* by the Advice of the Privy-Council, (as the *Marquess of Arhol* had first proposed) and by his Majesties express Authority, marched under the Conduct of their respective Lords, with the Standing Forces into that Countrey, after the *Heritors* in a meeting had sent word to the Council, That they could not undertake for the Peace. While they Quartered there, (which was not above two Months) the cruel *Fanaticks* lay in wait upon all occasions for their blood, which made them, that they durst not walk abroad, but in such numbers, as might secure their Lives. After they had leave to return home, they marched not together as an Army, but travelled in Companies as they thought fit, and a small Party of them going Peaceably on the Road, somewhere about *Sterling*, were set upon by a band of bloody *Phineases*, who killed some of them, and wounded more.

The Summer ensuing, his Majesty called a Convention of the *Three Estates*, who gave him Five Months Tax for five Years following, to maintain a Regiment of Foot, three Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Dragoons, which was to be added to the other Standing Forces, for the more effectual Suppressing of *Field-Conventicles*. These Forces being raised, and distributed into their Quarters, the *Fanaticks* watched them as Ravenous Birds, or Beasts watch their Prey, endeavouring to surprize them by night in their Quarters, or at any other time, when their fewness, or security made them unable to defend themselves. Particularly in April

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last

\* The only remedy against Tyrants is E-huds Dagger; to which, as the Supreme Court of Justice, Moses brought the Egyptians; Phineas, Zimri and Cosby; Ehud, Eglon; Samson, the Philistines; Saul, Agag; and Jehojadah, Athalia; Buchanan de jure regni.



last 1679. a Company of them came upon a very small Party of Soldiers Quartered in or near *Maclin* about Midnight, or early in the Morning on the *Lords day*, and most barbarously Massacred them in their Lodgings. The Assassins when they came to the door knocked as Friends, and kindly asked for the poor Soldiers, as Camrades are wont to ask for one another. And they not thinking of any harm got up, and opened the Door, which was no sooner done, but without speaking one word, they Shot one of them dead through the belly, and wounded the rest so mortally, that they left them for dead. Nevertheless, as it is credibly reported, these Heroical Butchers went straight away to a *Field-Meeting*, where they partook of the *Sacrament of the Lords-Supper*, if I may call that a *Sacrament*, which such utter Usurpers of the Priests-Office Sacrilegiously Administer, and Schismatics, and Rebels take.

And about *March* last 1679. Twenty six or Twenty seven of these Heroical Pseudo-Zealots having met Armed in a private Lodging, at the further end of a remote Lane in *Edinburgh*, sent a Messenger, who was of the Conspiracy, to tell the *Town-Major*, (who was always diligent in his Office, and faithful to his Trust) That there was a Conventicle in such a place. The Major with three or four men, whom he called to his Assistance, went immediately upon the Information to the foresaid House, where the Inspired Heroes, after many Shots from both ends of the Room into which they had trapand the Major, fell upon the Major in particular, whom having wounded, as they thought beyond all possibility of recovery, they left for dead, and made their escape. One of the Assistants they Shot dead through the Reins, and bruised and wounded the rest. While they beat and wounded the *Town-Major*, they called him *Enemy to Christ, Instrument of Satan, &c.* and urged him to Swear that he would never disturb their Meetings, or seize any Person at them again, and protested withal unto him, That not any private Quarrel moved them to kill him, but because his Employment was to discover their Meetings, and execute the Tyrannical, and Antichristian Laws against them. The House wherein this Riot was committed, was kept by an holy Sister, a noted Fanatick, who frequently entertained the Rebellious intercommuned Preachers, and such like Enthusiastical Cut-throats as these. She is Sister in Law to one *Andrew Turnbull* in *Broomball*, one noted among a Club of Assassins, who combine to Murder his Majesties Officers; and, as many Witnesses examined upon Oath before the *Privy-Council* May the Fifth 1677. declared, he and his Son were two of those, who rescued two Fanatical Criminals from a Serjeant, and four Militia Soldiers, in which rebellious action they discharged several Pistols at them, and wounded them with Swords as well as Shot, calling them Dogs, &c. and telling them, that those whom they served were Devils, and deserved to be worse used than they. But to return to the Story of the Major: The day of the Week, in which this Massacre was acted, was *Tuesday*, and the *Sunday* before, Mr. *Cameron* that famous Field-Preacher, Preached twice in the same House, where were present most of the Murderers, as, by Examination of several Witnesses before the *Privy-Council*, it afterwards appeared.

I have passed by many other Stories of this nature, as that of the bloody attempt which they made upon the Ensign and Soldiers of the *Bass*, at a Conventicle near *Dunbar* in Summer 1678. whereof some being afterwards Apprehended, were tryed, and one was put to death.

But

But they were never moved with stronger impulses to kill any sort of men, than the Leviers and Collectors of the *Cess*, which the Convention had granted for erecting and maintaining the foresaid additional Forces. The Murderers of the Archbishop did also lay in wait for those who gathered this Tax, which they said, *was given to drive Christ out of the Kingdom*; and the Soldiers whose Murder I related above, were some of those, who were commanded out to Convoy the Gatherers of the *Cess*. At the same time, by way of preparation of what was to follow, they made almost daily Musters of their Forces at their Field-Meetings, as at *Lefmabago*, and *Munkland*, in *Clidsdale*, *Rubber-Law*, in *Trvest-dale*, and several parts of *Sterling-shire*, where they refused to dissolve their Meetings, when they were required to do it in the Kings name, and dared his Majesties Forces to their faces, speaking in their hearing reproachfully and disdainfully of the King, the Privy-Council, and the Bishops, which made all considering men forebode the Rebellion at the same time, that some of our Countrey-men at *London* bore the World in hand, that the accounts of these disorders which were sent up from time to time, were all Fictions, or Hyperboles, and that there was no danger of Rebellion at all.

While they were in this evil Disposition, and committed these Cruelties, and Disorders, there was published a Libel said to have been spoken in the House of Lords, *March 25. 1679.* it hath been Printed twice already, once in a single sheet, shortly after it was said to have been spoken, and afterwards in a *Collection of divers remarkable Proceedings in Parliament*, and because it accidentally had such a mighty influence in stirring up this People to the *Murder and Rebellion*, I think my self bound by my undertaking to give it a third Edition in this place.

## The S P E E C H.

My Lords,

**Y**OU are appointing of the consideration of the State of England to be taken up in a Committee of the whole House, some day next Week. I do not know how well what I have to say may be received, for I never study either to make my Court well, or to be Popular; I always speak what I am commanded by the Dictates of the Spirit within me.

There are some other Considerations that concern England so nearly, that without them you will come far short of Safety and Quiet at home: We have a little Sister, and she hath no Breasts, what shall we do for our Sister in the day when she shall be spoken for? If she be a Wall, we will build on her a Palace of Silver, if she be a Door, we will inclose her with Boards of Cedar. We have several little Sisters without Breasts, the French Protestant Churches, the two Kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland; the Foreign Protestants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to England; upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, glorious Palaces. The Protection of the Protestants abroad, is the greatest Power and Security the Crown of England can attain to, and which can only help us to give check to the growing greatness of France. Scotland and Ireland are two Doors, either to let in Good or Mischief upon us; they are much weakened by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to inclose them with Boards of Cedar.

Popery

Popery and Slavery, like two Sisters, go hand in hand, sometimes one goes first, sometimes the other, in a doors, but the other is always following close at hand.

In England, Popery was to have brought in Slavery; in Scotland, Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow.

I do not think your Lordships or the Parliament have Jurisdiction there. It is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom; they have an illustrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a learned Clergy, and an Understanding, Worthy People; but yet we cannot think of England as we ought, without reflecting on the Condition therein. They are under the same Prince, and the Influence of the same Favourites and Councils; when they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the Richer expect better usage? for 'tis certain, that in all Absolute Governments, the poorest Countreys are always most favourably dealt with.

When the Ancient Nobility and Gentry there cannot enjoy their Royalities, their Shrievaldoms, and their Stewardaries, which they and their Ancestors have possessed for several hundreds of years; but that now they are enjoyed by the Lords of the Council to make Deputations of their Authorities to such as are their known Enemies.

Can we expect to enjoy our Magna Charta long under the same Persons and Administration of Affairs? If the Council Table there can imprison any Nobleman or Gentleman for several years, without bringing him to Tryal, or giving the least reason for what they do; can we expect the same men will preserve the Liberty of the Subject here?

I will acknowledge, I am not well vers'd in the particular Laws of Scotland; but this I do know, that all the Northern Countreys have, by their Laws, an undoubted and inviolable Right to their Liberties and Properties; yet Scotland hath out-done all the Eastern and Southern Countreys, in having their Lives, Liberties and Estates subjected to the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of those that Govern. They have lately plundered and harassed the richest and wealthiest Countries of that Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous High-Landers to devour them; and all this without almost a colourable pretence to do it: Nor can there be found a reason of State for what they have done; but that those wicked Ministers designed to procure a Rebellion at any Rate; which as they managed, was only prevented by the miraculous Hand of God, or otherwise all the Papists in England would have been Armed, and the fairest Opportunity given in the just time for the Execution of that wicked and Bloody Design the Papists had; and it is not possible for any man that duly considers it, to think other, but that those Ministers that acted that, were as guilty of the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in question for it.

My Lords, I am forced to speak this the plainer, because, till the pressure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, 'tis not possible for me, or any thinking man, to believe that good is meant us here.

We must still be upon our guard, apprehending that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that these men that are still in place and Authority, have that Influence upon the mind of our Excellent Prince; that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, that his own Nature and Goodness would incline him to.

I know your Lordships can order nothing in this, but there are those that hear me, can put a perfect Cure to it; until that be done, the Scottish Weed is like Death in the Pot, Mors in olla; But there is something



too, now I consider, that most immediately concerns us; their Act of Twenty two thousand Men to be ready to invade us upon all occasions. This, I hear, that the Lords of the Council there have treated, as they do all other Laws, and expounded it into a standing Army of Six thousand Men. I am sure we have reason and right to beseech the King that that Act may be better considered in the next Parliament there. I shall say no more for Scotland at this time, I am afraid your Lordships will think I have said too much, having no concern there; But if a French Noble man should come to dwell in my House and Family, I should think it concern'd me to ask what he did in France: for if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I should desire him to live elsewhere; and I hope your Lordships will do the same thing for the Nation, if you find the same cause.

My Lords, Give me leave to speak two or three words concerning our other Sister Ireland: thither, I hear, is sent Douglas's Regiment, to secure us against the French. Besides, I am credibly informed, that the Papists have their Arms restored, and the Protestants are not many of them yet recovered from being the suspected Party; the Sea Towns as well as the In-land, are full of Papists: that Kingdom cannot long continue in the English Hands, if some better care be not taken of it. This is in your Power, and there is nothing there, but is under your Laws; therefore I beg that this Kingdom at least may be taken in consideration, together with the State of England: For I am sure there can be no safety here, if these Doors be not shut up and made sure.

By the very next Post after this Speech was said to have been spoken, Forty written Copies of it were sent from London, by the Gentlemen of the Party to Edinburgh; and the Fanaticks grew so insolent, and so daring upon it, that several Loyal Gentlemen wrote up Accounts, to what height of Insolences this Speech had blown up the Enemies of the Church, and the Monarchy; and that they had just reasons to fear, that very dangerous attempts, if not a down-right Rebellion, would speedily ensue thereupon. But these reports found not too much Credit at London, where the World was made believe by men, (whose Interest it was that they should not be Credited) That they were but the Inventions of the Duke of Lauderdale, for whose advantage in that conjuncture it was that they should be believed.

But what we would not then believe, we shortly after saw verified; and the event falling out so contrary to the expectation of men, who had been deluded by the Duke of Lauderdale's ungrateful Enemies, made many of them who had spoken publicly and done much ill against him, declare since, That they were sorry for it, and for the time to come would do so no more. But to return to this pretended Speech, which emboldned the People to such wicked Attempts: I find it very difficult for my self to believe, that the Right Honourable and worthy Person under whose name it was Published, could be the Author of such an Harangue that reflected upon a Peer, whom he once esteemed so much, and owned for the greatest States-Man in the World. Nay one must needs think, that so Wise and generous a Gentleman, who hath so great an Estate to lose, and who was so true to the Kings Service and Interest, while his Majesty was pleased to Employ him, should speak nothing in that August Assembly, which should fire the Disaffected of either Kingdom, and consequently endanger the Government, and involve us all in a common Confusion again.

But if he did speak it to discharge any private Resentments, which might over-rule the generosity of his Nature, yet I am confident he would not have done so, had he known the true state of Scotland, which few Englishmen do, or foreseen the evil effects, which it immediately had, in

encouraging the Covenanters to Assassinate, Massacre, and Rebel. For now they began to look, and speak big in *Edinburgh*, and many of them were heard and seen upon *the Crown of the Causeway*, who had skulked about in darkness before. And as for the disaffected parts of the Countrey, they now Display'd *the Banners of Jesus Christ* (as they blasphemously called their Colours) at their Conventicles every where; and their Preachers now told them, *That the time of their Deliverance, and of Gods taking Vengeance upon his Enemies, was now at hand, only they must repent, and be strong, and of a good Courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord.* They also threatned in all places such as they thought were seriously active against them, talking of great Changes and Revolutions in *England*; and in publick places dropt Lists of the names of those men, whom they had a mind should fall by *Heroical* hands. Particularly at *Cupar the Shire-Town in Fife*, there was found in the Streets a threatening Declaration, while the *Sheriff-Depute* was there demanding the legal Fines from those, who had been convicted of frequenting Field-Conventicles, and entertaining declared, and attainted Traitors, and fugitives, and intercommuned Rebels. The Declaration was thus directed.

To all and sundry, to whose hands these Presents shall come, but especially to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of the Town of *Cupar in Fife*.

**B**E it known to all men, That whereas under a pretext of Law, though most falsly, there is most abominable, illegal, and oppressive Robberies, and Spoils committed in this Shire by Captain *Carmichael*, and his Soldiers, by vertue of a precept from *William Carmichael, &c.* he being authorized, and held on to it by that Perjured, Apostat Prelate *Sharp*, who, &c. These are therefore to declare to all that shall any ways be concerned in this Villanous Robbery, and Oppression, either by Assisting, Recepting, Levying, or any manner of way Countenancing the same, that they shall be holden as guilty thereof, and however they may think themselves for the present secured, being guarded by a Military Force, and those that are thus Robbed despicable; yet let them take this for a warning, that they shall be handled severely, answerable to their Villanies, and that by a Party equal to all that dare own them; and that shortly, as God shall enable and assist them, whose names may be read in these following Letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. W. X. Y. Z.

The Archbishop is mentioned by name in this Declaration, which prepared the way for his Murder; for according to the tenure of it, they very shortly after handled him severely in the bloody manner which you have read. Mr. *Carmichael* was neither Counsell'd nor Authoris'd by him to Levy the Fines, as they most invidiously asserted in their Declaration; but he was in their account an *Apostat*, and therefore was to be represented as the Author of all publick Proceedings against them, that the direful Vengeance of the whole Sect might fall upon his head. They Murdered him, as I have related, on the third of *May 1679.* and on the Twenty ninth following they began the *Rebellion*; because, as their first Declaration bears, it was appointed a day of Solemn Thanksgiving for setting up an *Usurper* to destroy the Interest of *Christ*, and assume the Power which is proper to him alone. I would here set down this treasonable and blasphemous Declaration at large, but having some thoughts hereafter to write the History of this Rebellion, I will not prevent my own design.

F I N I S.

Added for the further illustration of what is said in the Animadversions,  
o, u, y, 10, 18, on the first Speech, and 23, and 24, on the second.

Extracted out of the Epistle to The History of the Indulgence, Printed 1678.

NOW then the Indulgence is embraced, and thanks to the givers are rendered by the takers. I ask therefore First, If they could after this their acceptance and giving of thanks to the Council, have withdrawn from that appearance, and sisted themselves before Christ Jesus, the King of his Church, and with a sweet serenity of Soul have had confidence to offer their thanks to Him, for being helped to witness a good Confession against the wickedness of this Invasion, made by the Overtures of his work, upon his Royal Prerogative, who built the House, and must bear the Glory; for it was either then or never, that it was to have been done. Secondly, Let me ask; Are they so very clear and confident in the case, as they can, not only in dealing with men, hold up their face, and affirm, without hick or hesitation, that this is their rejoicing, even the testimony of their Conscience; that in simplicity and Godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but the Grace of God, they have had their Conversation before all men, and more abundantly towards these backsliding Rulers, before whom they appeared, now declared Enemies to the Work of God, and Invaders of His Throne and Prerogative. But are they also content to be carried before the Tribunal of Christ, with this acceptance from those, who have exalted at their Lord and Master, in their hand; and to have the quality of their Love to the coming of His Kingdom, and their Loyalty to Christ Jesus, now opposed and put from the exercise of his Royal Government by the Party Indulging, in this very Indulgence, tried by such a Test? It were fit, sure, to think on this, and lay it to heart; for each receiver may lay his count with it, that soon or syne he shall be put to it. Thirdly, Let me ask (though I put it out of doubt, they do, and far be it from me to think otherwise) whether they believe, that Christ, who purchased His Church, and bought his Crown with His precious Blood, lives also to make Intercession, and to plead his own Purchase, and Procure, by vertue of the Price He hath payed, the execution of the written Vengeance upon all, who will strive with him for State and Supremacy in ordering the Affairs of his House, the Church of the living God; or who will, in their desperate daring and rage, resist and exaltate Him by their Law, (which is a legal and explicit bursting of His Bonds, casting away His Cords from them, and, in contempt of, and Contradiction to the Christ of God, a formal taking of His house in Possession) as our Rulers have done; to the out-doing, in this affront to Jesus Christ, all that ever went before them; or as if they were resolved never to be out-done by any, who should come after them, in a coping with the Mediator, and a down-right denial of Him to be King; (for now they have put Caesar in his Place) sure, the Indulged Brethren neither can nor will deny this. Then they must give me leave to assert and subsume (what hath been, as oft upon my Soul, as I thought upon their carriage at that appearance (yea, if they speak consequently to the supposed concession, they must agree with me in it; That with the same objective assurance, I believe the Right that Christ hath bought, to be Sole and Supreme, in regulating all the Affairs of His own House, to have none to share with Him in the Autocratic, Architeconick and Magisterial Power of making Laws, to oblige the Conscience of His Subjects, nor to be in case to give a Ministerial Power besides himself; And as I believe the firmness of the stipulation betwixt Jehovah and his Anointed, to secure unto him his Throne, and take Vengeance on all His Adversaries; and as I believe he live to make Intercession; so I must believe also that, at that very instant, when the Indulged stood before the Council, and by their mouth made such a Harangue; The Mediator, who is set down, at the right hand of God, was interceding and pleading by His Blood, by His Wounds and Passion, for the Execution of the purchased and promised Vengeance upon such, who by the complex of this very deed, in a defiance to the everlasting Decree, whereby his Throne is Established, declared, they had taken unto themselves His House in Possession. Ah; my dear Brethren, can the thoughts of such a discord and discrepancy betwixt His Intercession in Heaven, and your Haranguing on Earth, enter into your Soul, (and I give you the defiance to enter into the serious thoughts of the matter, and hold them out or be reflected upon, without Terrour, Trembling, Confusion of face, Shame and Astonishment.

Now my reverend and very dear Brethren, may I not, upon this occasion, make bold to fall upon you as prostrat, and with the tear in mine Eye, (for I have confidence to say it, I scarce see my Paper, while by my Pen I make this Address unto you,) humbly and earnestly beg of you, request, beseech and obtest you, for your blessed and glorious Masters sake, who is now Crucified again amongst us, from whose Head the Crown is taken; for His Churches sake, whereof he hath made you Ministers, and so magnified you amongst men, in sending you into the World, under the Character of his Ambassadors; for your poor broken hearted and bleeding Brethrens sake, as ever you would be amongst the restorers of our breaches; as ever you would again be as some of you were in times past, as the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel; as ever you would wish to be brought again to keep his Courts, and so Judge his House; and, when that work is over, to have a Place amongst them that stand by; as you would not be the occasion of the rupture and utter ruine of the small remnant (for God and all good and understanding men will rebound this distracting and remnant-destroying Division, that is amongst us, upon this Indulgence,) as you tender the good of the Posterity, and would give an unquestionable evidence, how intensely you desire, that Jesus Christ may Reign and Rule without a competitor, when you are gone; As you love to live at peace with God, and enjoy, as feeding Pastors and faithful Witnesses to your Lord, a sweet serenity of Soul; Nay as ever you expect to go off the stage in good terms with God, and have your Masters welcom of well done good and faithful Servants, and be enrolled, when you are gone, amongst the Confessors of his name, and holders fast of the word of his Testimony, and such as had obtained mercy to be valiant for the truth: Let me, I say, upon all these, and many other accounts, make bold to beseech you, without more debate, without more delay, to deliver your selves; to deliver the Church; to deliver your wounded, weeping and overwhelmed Brethren; and to deliver the Posterity from the snare of that Cause-Destroying, Church-Ruining, Remnant-Dividing Indulgence.

† Viz. Parochial, or Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies.



*A Jesuitical Letter sent to the Covenanters in the West of Scotland,  
who lately Rebelled.*

I Have been much surpris'd to hear, that almost all the Suffering Ministers of Scotland, of late (for formerly I never heard nor dream'd of such a thing) begin to speak in favour of this *Indulgence*; (which to me ever was, and yet is the bane of our Cause, and that which hath given the *bleeding Interest of Christ* in that Suffering Church, a more dreadful stroke than all that Prelacy hath done) some so far as they will not have it mentioned a Sin upon the Land, nor preach'd against; others so far as they will have none so much as hinting, what iniquity lieth wrapped in hearing and countenancing these *Indulged Persons*; yea, (I say the generality) for any thing I know, are come that length, to be ready to question and censure such as preach against it, or preach upon the ground where any *Indulged Minister* is. Oh where are we now! when it is come to that, and what will be the end of this prodigious fainting and change? are we so in love with the *Supremacy*, the like whereof was never heard of in any Christian Church, as not in the Church where *Antichrist* sits, nor was ever arrogate by any Magistrate, either Heathen, Turk, or Christian, which is our shame, and should be our sorrow, and will prove such a provocation in the sight of the Lord, that he cannot pardon till Vengeance be executed upon the Land, and Posterity, in a degree proportionate to the unparalleled height of that Abomination and Desolation? are we (I say) so intom'd with that Image of Jealousie, which provoketh to Jealousie, that we must plead so much for that woful Spirit, come out of that bitter root, after we have seen and felt the lamentable effects of it? wo is me, if this be all our Zeal for God, and his Christ this day, when his *Prerogatives* are *inroached upon* by men who have fold themselves to destroy (so far as they can) all the *Interest of Jesus Christ*, and to banish himself, his Kingdom, and all his Concerns out of the Land. Who I pray among these *Indulged Men*, (I say) as such (for otherways I honour such as are known to me, and shall entertain charitable thoughts of others) can be called the Ambassadors of Christ? who depend as to the actual exercise of the Ministerial Function, or such who never were immediately intrusted (even as to kind) with Church-power, receiving *Injunctions*, *Limitations*, and Authority, not Interpretatively, but expressly, and *in terminis* from them; and so acting under the Magistrate in a Subordination, as directly and formally as an Inferior Civil-Court, or Magistrates do, for any thing I can observe. And who dare say that this is consonant to our received, and *avowed Reformation*? How may, can, or dare any be silent, and not lift up their voice like a Trumpet, not only to exoner their own Consciences, and bear full witness against this Sin, when now by reason this universal condemnation of all publick appearance against the *Indulgence*, as becoming in a more plain undeniable manner the Sin of the Suffering Church, whereas before it seem'd to me to be only the Sin of the fainting People, who had contrary to their Oath and Vow departed from the Suffering Brethren, to the weakning the hands of the Suffering Remnant, and strengthening the oppressing Adversaries; but also, so far as in them lieth, are for the Peoples altogether lying by and compliance with this Evil, to the *furthor provoking the Lord against the whole Land*. Is it reasonable for us now in the day of the Lords continuing, to be thus tender of a few men, (how worthy soever otherways) and undertaker of the *grand Concern of the Lord our Master*? It's strange to me, that any should plead for it directly, or indirectly, and it were directly designed to countermin'd the Lords wonderful appearance in and by these *Assemblies of the Lords People*, now named *Conventicles*, and *blasphemously*, *† Rendezvous of Rebellion*, and that now when the Lord hath counter-wrought these Enemies to the astonishment of all. I look upon this and taking the *Bond lately rendered*, and *Submissive payment of this Exaction Money*; for all the three were and are contrived, designed, pressed, and carried on expressly and in plain terms to burden, and keep down the work of God by *Field and House-meetings*, *Rendezvous of Christ's Militia*, where he as King, and Generalissimo is Leading, Ruling, and Mustering his faithful Soldiers, nor can I see that such, who are so favourable to the *Indulgence*, can (speaking consequently) condemn the taking of the *Bond*, or the payment of this *Imposition*, which is to me a practical compend of all former compliances with this *Enemy*, and a plain practical declaration of their engagements to root Christ and all his out of the Land. Tho' it is true, there is a *Magis* and a *Minus* that may be yielded, yet there is nothing that can alter the kind. Wherefore dear Brethren, hitherto God hath helped you, go on in the strength of the Lord, remaining against all flesh for your Lord and Master, who is able to make all grace abound; beware of all formal or material, and virtual yieldings unto any compliance with any contracts whatsoever, that have a tendency to weaken Christ's Interests, either in it self, or in the mind of any faithful, for he who is faithful in a little, will be followed with dominion over many Cities. The Spirit of Zeal would make us wise as Serpents, and resolute to stand upon *Feet or Inches*, for as not a light Skirmishing with fore-parties, but the main Battle, (*ad triarios ventum in est*) and the yielding of one foot, may occasion the losing the whole day. O Lord God of Hosts arise thou, and then thine Enemies shall be Scattered, and strengthen the weak things that remain, when the things that once were are now as it were disappearing, and plead thy own Cause, and determin that long depending Controversy in thy own time and way. Amen.

† Vid. *Anti-maduers*. p. 11.

Let me hear from you my dear Brother, His Grace be with you,

Yours in the Lord, Subscribed,

J. B.

Supposed to be one John Brown a Field-Preacher and Traitor, who fled into Holland, where he is an Agent for the Covenanting-Party.

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## ERRATA.

In the first Speech.

Page 2. line 11. him, page 13. line 2. wide, 10. with, 35. those, page 17. line 22. fed.

In the second Speech.

Page 47. line 9. Cefs, page 54. line 47. trified.

In the Animadversions.

Page 23. l. 41. yesquum, p. 25. Marg. (c) Peith, p. 29. l. 23. (9) l. 25. Milne, p. 36. l. 10. John in marg.  
Lxxv, p. 42. l. 25. purely, dele and, p. 48. l. 30. Istechn, p. 49. (3) in marg. Balcanquel, p. 53. l. 8. Alexanders  
There are other Errors of less moment, which the Reader may be pleased to Correct.